

# TERRE-HAUTE, INDIANA, APRIL 2, 1860.

the Federal Government to control as to

slavery in the Federal Territory. "Thirty

nine," as they have discovered, have

no record of their understanding upon the

direct question of Federal control of slavery

in the Territories. For the purpose of

adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely

omitted whatever understanding may have

been manifested, by any one, however dis-

tinguished, other than the thirty-nine

fathers who framed the original Constitu-

tion, and for the same reason, I have omitted

whatever understanding may have been

manifested by any of the "thirty-nine"

even, on any other phase of the general

question of slavery. If we should look into

their acts and declarations on those other

phases, as the foreign slave trade, and the

morality and policy of slavery generally,

it would appear as if, on the direct

question of Federal control of slavery in

the Territories, the sixteen, if they had

acted at all, would probably have

acted just as the twenty-three did. Among

the sixteen were several of the most noted

anti-slavery men of those times—Mr. Dr.

Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gov-

ernor Morris—while there was not one

known to be a slaveholder, unless it may

be said that the original instrument, a

sum of the whole is, that of our "thirty-

nine fathers" who framed the original

Constitution, twenty-one of them were

in favor of Federal control of slavery in

the Territories, and the remainder, cer-

tainly understood that no proper

division of local from Federal author-

ity, nor any part of the Constitution,

could be construed to give Federal

control of slavery in the Territories, while

all the rest probably had the same

understanding. Such unquestionably

was the understanding of the Federal

Government, and the original Constitu-

tion affirms that they understood the

question better than we.

But, so far, I have been considering the

understanding of the question as mani-

festing in the original instrument, and

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festing in the original instrument, and

as they acted upon it. This is all Republi-

cans ask—All Republicans desire—in re-

lation to the original instrument, to be

extended, but to be extended, and pro-

tection only because of and so far as its

extension is necessary, and for the purpose

of protection and necessity. Let all

the guarantees that fathers gave, be

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